183, 486, 572, 577, 609, 627, 672, 696

[See all of the above categories for various aspects of protection and countenance as practiced by the Rwala.]

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result, three *ḫawi* suffice for protection against all the 'Aneze from Aleppo to the Nefûd and from the Sirḥân depression to the river Tigris, *lehom waǧḥ wâḥeḍ*.

With the Šammar it is altogether different. There the most reliable face is furnished by a man either of the Sinǧâra or the 'Abde. As the Aslam and Tûmân quarrel continually, to traverse their territories with only one *ḫawi* is out of the question. If a traveler meets a Šammari and eats with him, he must nevertheless ask: "Wilt thou give me thy face against the Šammar if I give thee mine against Such-and-Such?" And, if the Šammari agrees, another question is necessary: "Against which Šammar canst thou be my *ḫawi*?" This must be repeated every evening, as a Šammari usually promises for one day only.

The members of the Šarârât tribe, which has no head chief who can dictate to all the clans, *mâ jeḳûl 'alejhom waḥad*, are not secure even against their own fellow tribesmen. Then it pays to be very exact in inquiring whether the *ḫawi* can protect against the whole of his clan or merely against a few kins. A Šarâri *ḫawi*, too, keeps his engagement for one day only. Should the traveler fail to renew the agreement with him, his *ḫawi* may himself rob him on the next day or make common cause with the robbers.

PROTECTION BY REQUEST

Protection granted by request, *daḫḫâla*, is the basis of all security both of person and property. Whoever is threatened by death or loss of property or whoever thinks that he is being wronged asks protection from him who has the power to give it. At the same time it is everyone's duty to give protection when requested to do so. A refusal would imply weakness, would blacken one's honor, and the man who refuses would be derided at all camp fires for his lack of manly courage. It is, of course, true that no one likes to be asked for protection because of the cruel work full of difficulties and trouble that is involved in it.

One who is oppressed personally has to ask protection of someone more powerful or of a member of an important kin; it is sufficient, however, for him to enter the tent of the one whose protection he desires or even its sacred precincts, *muḥârem*. The precincts begin either at the limits of

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577 572 ●696 hearing distance or at a full spear's length from the farthest tent pegs. When a pursued person cries from afar to the tent owner that he is putting himself under his protection and is heard, the latter is bound to protect him. The term for such an occurrence is *ḥakk aṣ-ṣowt*. On reaching the sacred precincts the pursued man finds himself under the protection of the tent. If he is unable from exhaustion to proceed any farther and remains lying on the ground inside the precincts, no harm may be done to him, as that would be a violation of the tent, *ʿatab al-bejt*. The owner of the tent, his wife, or child shouts:

"Why dost thou violate my protégé? thine eyesight is sharp enough, is it not? *lêh taʿteb ʿala daḫîli ent ʿajnak žwijje*. With us the precincts of a tent are recognized as sacred by an old custom; no one would dare to violate it; *al-muḥârem ʿendana ʿâdaten sânijjaten mâ ḥad jaḳṭaʿha*."

The persecuted man always tries to reach the tent. When he succeeds, he takes hold of the occupant's wife, or a girl there, or holds a baby towards his pursuers, saying:

"The protégé has arrived and saved himself, *daḫal ad-daḫîl w-silem*." The people in the tent, whether men or women, cry: "Our protégé! Stop, respect the tent; stand still! *daḫîlana* [695] *jammakom al-bejt al-bejt jammakom*." Anyone who injures or kills the protégé inside the tent must compensate the owner for disgracing his tent, *ḥakk bowžt al-bejt*. Disgracing of a tent is punished with greater severity than injury to the face, *eḳṭâʿ al-waǧh*. The distance from the protecting tent to the tent of the culprit is measured by steps, and the latter must give one *ḥežž* camel for every step as compensation for disgrac- [628] ing the tent. If, however, the persecuted man has killed one of the tent owner's near kinsmen, no protection will be given him and he may be killed in the tent itself, even if the woman present at the time were to grant him protection, *daḫḫâla*. This proceeding is explained and excused by the rousing of the blood, *fowžt ad-damm*, of the kinsmen when they see or hear that one of their number has just been killed.

Protection obtained in person is followed by the granting of the protection of the countenance. The protégé moves constantly before the countenance of him whose protection he enjoys, *alli daḫal ʿalejh*. Such protection cannot be limited but must be given a wide interpretation, *ad-daḫḫâla mamdûde mâ ḥi maḥdûde*; therefore there is never any dispute as to

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ts validity. To deny having been asked for protection or to 577
ry to rid oneself of the obligation would be considered a 572
lisgrace. For one of the chief marks of gentility, *mruwwa*, 696
f a Bedouin is the granting of protection when it is asked
or. The man who grants protection, *daḫḫâla*, must forthwith
nnounce it in the whole camp and even in all the camps
round: "Let none dare to come near So-and-So! Know ye
hat he has put himself under our protection! Whoever harms
im will pay us the price of our countenance!"

It is also possible to obtain protection for animals in 231
ispute. In this case the oppressed party leads the animal 422
nto the sacred precincts of the tent, or at least brings a hand-
ul of hair cut from its tail, *halab leh helbe*. In the latter
ase the protector, taking the hair, then goes to the herd in
hich the animal in dispute is kept and, having recognized
by its clipped tail, leads it before his tent. Nobody dares
o touch it there until the dispute is settled.

Typical Cases of the Granting of Protection and its Consequences

Blejhân eben Żeri told the following story: "We, the Ḳmuṣa 577
en, were camping in the al-Mijâh valley. There was not much 627
ater in the wells. Medbaṛ eben 'Abdallâh watered his sheep
nd goats, *ranameh*, from a well. Belhân eben Mnazzel brought
is flock to the same well and tried to drive Medbaṛ away.
nraged, the latter attacked Belhân, *saṭa' beh*, fell upon him,
llah beh, with a saber, and cut off his nose, so that it hung
aly by a bit of skin and later had to be sewn on with the
air of a virgin. Medbaṛ, leaving his flock, then ran into our
nt, that is of the Eben Żeri, and shouted:

'Behold, I call on Allâh and all of you to protect me from
e face of my cousin, so that he will not attack me!'

"We ran out of the tent and warned them, *naḏahna 'alej-
m*: 'Let nobody come near Medbaṛ and his kin. He has asked
r our protection and is our protégé.' Then we mounted our cam-
s, surrounded all the tents belonging to Medbaṛ's kin, helped
em strike them, and conducted them to the settled territory,
rrabna, on the Euphrates, where we crossed the river, *'abarna*,
d encamped in al-Ğezîre. Some time later the wounded man,
i mosṭijen beh, watered his flock in the Euphrates and saw
relative of the assailant, *as-sâṭi*, who, as it was the time of

701

701 MILITARY ORGANIZATION--purpose of military organization (e.g., defense, internal police, prestige); composition of the armed forces in peace and war; standing army and navy (e.g., size, disposition, state of preparedness); eligibility and liability for military service (e.g., age and sex qualifications); status of warriors (e.g., prerogatives, disabilities); military leaders (e.g., qualifications, mode of selection, authority, functions); extent of differentiation of military from political organization; coordination of armed forces (e.g., of a war party, an army, a complex military establishment); hierarchical organization (e.g., gradations in rank, chain of command); system of payment, promotion, and retirement; furloughs and leave; special organizations (e.g., military societies); etc. See also:

Prestige and mobility 65
Political organization 62, 63, 64
Military technology and equipment 71
Leadership traits 157

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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Bedouin Raiders Riding out of Camp

Preparing for the Long Migration

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following page 48.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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Raiders Resting on the Edge of the Nufud Desert

Riders Assembling to Go on a Raid

opposite page 81

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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● 701

Raswan and Prince Fuaz with the Great Horsemen of the Ruala

[727]

Return from the Raid

following p. 128 (a)

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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Camel Troop of the Ruala Returning from a Raid

Bedouins of Arabia on the War Path

opposite p. 129

721 honesty, *raddejna an-neḳa' 'alejkom*, or wipes, or scrapes, off, *maǧrûd 'alejkom an-neḳa'*. As soon as this is done, the may attack without injuring their honor in the least; *elja raddejna an-neḳa' naṣîr 'ala waẓha-n-neḳa'*. Their face wi remain white. But when they attack without having first wipe off the *neḳa'*, they commit treason and blacken their hono *elja' mâ raddejna an-neḳa' hâḍa bowḳen buḳtûna jâ sûdân a ḥejl*. The *neḳa'* is the beginning of the war, *râs al-ḳwâm* also the pillar of fighting, *'amûd al-ḥarâjeb*, and thus sig nifies the declaration of hostilities.

721 622 643 619 The chief of any tribe may declare war. If several tribe ally themselves under one prince, they do not thereby renoun their right of declaring war independently. Prince an-Nû eben Ša'lân is the recognized head of the Rwala, the Wel 'Ali, the Ešâǧe'a, the Kwâčbe, and others, and yet he neve declares war in the name of them all but merely of his ow Rwala. During my stay there the Rwala lived at peace, *ṣâḥe* with the Fed'ân, but this did not prevent the Weld 'Ali fro making war, *ḳowm*, on the latter. When Prince an-Nûri de clared war on Eben Rašîd the envoys of the Tûmân, a divisio of the Šammar subject to Eben Rašîd, immediately appeare before him, suing for peace. Only when the chiefs of all th allied tribes give him the full power, *mawwanûh*, can he declar war in their name, and war is also waged against all of them *ḳowm 'ala-l-ǧamî'*.

RAIDS

Small Raids

721 701 As soon as war has been declared raids, both large an small, begin and often a regular battle, *manah*, is also fough If the hostile tribes camp somewhere near, a few men star out for robbery on foot, *ǧihanšelûn*. If the camps are at som distance, they ride on camels, *ma'âǧir bizkûr ar-rčâb*. Whe more than twenty men on camels, *ǧejš*, or on horses an camels, *ḥejl w-ǧejš*, gather, then it is a raid, *ġazw*, calle *ṣaṣîr* when the number of participants is small, and *čebî* when it is large. Every expedition of this kind has a leade *'ažîd* (pl., *'uḳda'*), who need not always be a chief of a tribe as every tribe can have its own military leader or war com mander, *šejḫ aš-šdâd*, if the chief is not possessed of suffi

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

cient military ability, or is ailing, or too old. Sometimes the chief's son or one of his relatives is entrusted with the command. But any Bedouin conspicuous for his prudence and bravery in time of war may be promoted from leader of the men on foot to leader of mounted men and may even be recognized as the commander-in-chief. The chief generally tries to gain his favor, marries his daughter to him, and adopts him into his kin, but likewise may bring about his death on finding that the commander does not wish him well. For a leader who rises in such a manner usually deposes the reigning kin and becomes chief himself. Therefore the members of the reigning kin are very careful when choosing a chief and recognize only the most distinguished of their kin. This is also the reason why the dignity of a chief does not pass from father to son as a matter of course.

The commander of the smaller expeditions gives notice to his friends: "We intend to start on foot — or on horseback — on a raid, *nabṛi neḥanšel* or *ne'ajjer*." When some men have declared their willingness to participate, he says to them:

"We shall go when the sign is favorable, *nimedd bel-waǧbet az-zêne*, either on Monday or Thursday."

For the small expeditions dark nights are the most suitable, *lejâl az-zalma' zêne lil-ma'âjir w-al-ḥanšel*. But by far the best is the *lejlet as-sarra*, the last night of the lunar month, when the moon does not appear at all, "as he is then staying with the sun." On clear nights, *lejâl al-ḳamra*, small expeditions are never undertaken. Among the seasons of the year the cold period is the most favorable, as there is not so much danger from thirst, which is greatly feared. On the whole, both small and large expeditions are made preferably in the time of abundance, *rabî'*, when edible plants, good pasture, and plenty of water may be found anywhere. This is the time when the inner desert swarms with raiders of every description.

Preparations for a Large Raid

Whenever the commander intends to undertake a large raid, *jimedd ṛazzâj*, he announces it to the chiefs in substantially these words: "Behold! we wish to go on a large raid under the leadership of the All-Highest. Shoe your horses and prepare supplies for yourselves, *ẖdû ḥejlkom w-wazzenû zehâbkom*. Behold! ye will assemble at the appointed place on

721 Monday [or Thursday] which is always favorable to us, *bwağbet aṯ-ṯnên*."

They answer: "O Allâh, may success be our lot! May he grant us luck! *Jâ-llâh maksûm ḫejr allâh ja'ṭi as-sa'ad*."

705 492 Then they begin to hunt for good camel bags, flour, water bags, and barley for the horses. He who means to go on his mare only seeks someone to carry his food supplies, *zammâl*. If he finds a camel rider who will do him that service, *jezmaleh*, he loads his supplies on the camel and himself rides in the saddle, while the owner sits behind. The mare runs beside the camel to which she is tied. But every owner of a mare generally has a camel of his own and is accompanied either by his slave or a younger relative. Those who ride on camels are always in the majority, and for long raids in the hot season none but she-camels are used. Horses are ridden mainly on short raids, undertaken in the time of *rabi'*. Nor can all the horses in camp be taken out—at least half must be left at home in order to repel a possible hostile attack. All the horses are shod before making a raid, and a few extra horseshoes taken to meet emergencies, *jetanaṣṣel ḥdaha*. They also sew up, generally with horsehair, the vaginas, *jeṣabberûn al-faras*, of mares big with young, especially the older ones, in order to prevent miscarriage.

721 ● 701 Old men and small boys must not go on a raid. They are left at home to guard the camp. However, a boy of twelve is old enough to join the raiders and may properly do so, especially in the *rabi'* season when neither thirst nor hunger threatens. In the hot months mainly men between 16 and 40 [585 717] take part. They do not like to be accompanied by a young husband, *'arrîs* (sic), in the first year of his married life. This time, called *krân al-'ars*, is not very favorable to important ventures, therefore it is better that the young husband should stay at [834] home. No custom forbids men to have intercourse with their [714] wives immediately before starting out, nor is it necessary that they should put on freshly washed clothes. Everybody usually leaves in the clothes he wears at the moment.

721 The preparations for a raid take a considerable time. However, nobody ever knows definitely against which tribe he is going, for the simple reason that the Rwala always have several enemies at once. Only the most intimate friends of the commander-in-chief know his objective, while the rest of the camp is kept guessing. This secret it is necessary to

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preserve, as some wayfarer or foreign herdaman might easily give warning to the hostile tribe and enable it to lay a trap for the raiders. It is generally the slaves of the prince or commander who overhear the conversation and then relate it to show that they know more than the Rwala themselves.

On the day agreed on they depart in smaller or larger groups either for the commander's tent or the appointed place of rendezvous. A guide familiar with the watering places, *delîl*, is always taken and, whenever possible, a member of the tribe to be attacked as well. This is usually an elderly herdsman who has hired himself out with them; he is sent for by the commander at the last moment before setting out.

The commander is also accompanied on the raid by a seer or sorcerer, *ṣâḥeb as-sirr*, to whom Allâh sends dreams in his sleep of a certain significance. *'arza ma'âwdiiie*. He is asked by the commander: "O So-and-So, didst thou have a dream of such-and-such a significance? *'arẓatk ǧatk*." It is a favorable omen, for instance, if he has dreamed of a mare or a she-camel; if he has kissed a girl, put on a new dress, or eaten dates—all these presage a rich capture of camels. If he has eaten meat in his dream, it means that tents will be captured, together with the kettles in which the meat is boiled. If he has put on a greenish jacket in his dream, *ǧowḥa ḫaḍra*, the commander will distinguish himself in a duel. If he dreamt that he was standing on a high hill, it is a sure sign that the commander will defeat the enemy decisively. If he has seen regular soldiers attacking the Bedouins, it is a sure sign that a heavy rain will compel the raiders to rest for some time. Of unfavorable significance, *'arẓa šêna*, is a dream in which the sleeping seer sees a wounded, a naked, or a snake-bitten man; or one in which he has his front teeth knocked out; or in which he falls down a well, *wâže'en bel-želîl*, or is fettered, or holds gold in his hand, or goes blind. But if he puts on a red jacket in his dream, then the commander's blood is sure to flow.

The commander takes care not to meet before his tent any member of the 'Orẓân (Misfortunates) kin of the Kwâčbe, of the Flete (Surprised) of the Rwala, of the Bdûr (Oppressed) of the Eššâğe'a, or of the Kšûš (Chased Away) of the 'Abdelle, for the names of these kins prove that they possess qualities very unfavorable to any large undertaking, *'arẓathom mâ hi zêne*.

When the commander reaches the place of meeting, the

701 721 partakers in the raid greet him with the words: "May this project bring luck, *râšda han-nijje*," his answer being: "The same to thee, *lenowlak*."

In every raid there is a commander or leader. In the smaller ones there is only one, in the larger there may be more. In the smaller raids the leader, *'ažîd*, takes the best of the captured riding camels, *nâḳt aš-šdâd*, as well as a she-camel which strikes his fancy, *al-mhawwa'*, and finally a she-camel for sacrifice, *al-'ažîre*, because according to the custom one she-camel is sacrificed after each successful raid. [782]

If the raiding party is made up of various tribes or clans, each of them has its own wholly independent leader. Only when the commander-in-chief also participates will he command in person and thus become *al-munîḫ al-muṭîr*, that is to say, the one who gives orders when to rest and when to march. To *al-munîḫ al-muṭîr* one she-camel, *ṣadrijje*, is given by each of the leaders, and besides he gets all the pack camels captured in the raid, such animals being recognized by their bald or gray backs, *ašhab aẓ-ẓahr*. Moreover he can pick out any she-camel he desires, *ḥazizateh* (sic), and the best riding camel, and the camel for sacrifice. As a leader of his own troop he shares equally with the other leaders except when nothing but pack animals, he-camels, *zeml*, and she-camels, *roḥl*, have been captured in the raid. In that case the leader takes as many as he wants, the rest going to the men under his command.

701 727 425 The commander also decides whether the booty is to be divided, *ḫiśer*, or whether every one has to seize it on his own account, *ṭejr ḫiśer*. In picking out a riding camel after a raid in which every man has taken booty for himself, the *'ažîd* permits its owner to take any other he pleases in exchange, but has the right to except three participants from whom nothing may be taken. Such a permission is given with these words: "I empower thee to select from all raiders excepting from these three, A, B, and C. To them do not go, but otherwise take what thou desirest. *Ana mheddak behal-rasw 'oḳob ṭalâṭe flân wa-flân wa-flân lâ tiǧihom ḫod illi tarṭik*." The she-camel he thus takes is called *raṣwa*. If stray horses, *mâreǧ*, or abandoned camels are caught or dropped rifles found, both these being called *hâreǧ*, they are handed over to the commander, who is entitled to them. For the rest, captured horses always belong to the captor, are never shared,

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701 727 425 and cannot be claimed by the commander. If a horse owner who has formed a partnership with a camel owner captures only one she-camel, he keeps her, giving his partner six *meǧidijjât* ($5.40) in compensation. If he captures a horse, he gives his comrade a she-camel from his own herd; otherwise the first captured she-camel is always his, while the second, *'âjde*, belongs to the partner. But when everybody takes booty on his own account he must mark the captured she-camel in such a way that she may not be taken by someone else. Usually he makes her kneel and fetters both her forelegs to prevent her from running away. A she-camel about which two raiders are in dispute is called *rubâša*.

If the commanders of a raid agree to share the booty obtained by all, *ǰetaḫâšarûn*, they begin by counting the participants. If one of the leaders has many and another only a few men with him, the latter is given more, so as to equalize the strength of all the troops. The booty is divided equally into as many parts as there are leaders; these take their share and apportion the rest among their men. Demanding a head rope from each man, the leader lays these ropes over his left arm and, walking among the captured animals, hangs one rope after another around their necks. Every one then takes the she-camel with his head rope. The remaining animals are divided in the same manner. Should there be more participants than captured camels, the *'ažîd* divides them arbitrarily. As a rule he takes into consideration how much booty has been taken by the men individually or the fact that some of the men may have lost camels of their own. The manner of getting booty and of its division should always be agreed on before the raid, to prevent trouble afterwards.

721 When all the men taking part in a raid assemble, the leader informs them whither they are bound. After midnight two or three men on horseback are ordered to ride ahead in order to examine the country through which the expedition has to pass as far as their next night's rest. They are called [825] *'ajn* (pl., *'ujûn*). As far as possible they should have white horses, because white means success. Their duty is to find the tracks of Bedouins, to look from hilltops for camps, grazing camels, and troops of riders, and to examine the neighborhood of the next night's stopping place with regard to water and pasture, etc. If they sight a troop of riders or if they find neither water nor sufficient pasture near the spot

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Run as the hunted beast runs from the face of the heroic youth,
From the faces of those whose beards and moustaches are covered with fat.

Haǧǧ means a panic, helter-skelter flight. *Ṛulma'* or *ṣabwa'* are youths from eighteen to twenty years of age, who are ever making raids, from which they always return with rich booty and then feast on the fat camels they have captured until their budding chin beards, *lḥa*, and mustaches, *šawâreb*, shine with fat, *dasmîn*. They are well fed, of great endurance, and never abandon the pursuit of the enemy's fleeing mares or camels until they have captured them.

Songs of Booty

The returning victors are not met by the women or girls of the camp. When near they break into songs of booty.

1. *Jowmen wald al-hejs jabḥa mažža'eh*
   wa' mâ ḳaṭa'na lejleten ḥarmesijje
   wa' hâj jâ lallâh wa' hâj jâ lallâh.
2. *Jâ nâšeden 'anna min ajje žebîle*
   'ejâl ar-rwejli min aḥjâr al-ḥamâjel
   wa' hâj . . .
3. *Ḥowfân aẓ-ẓulma' marâwir aẓ-ẓaḥa'*
   nowda' 'ala čabd al-ma'âdi debâjel
   wa' hâj . . .
4. *Elja-ddejt maǧhûdi w-maǧhûd fâṭeri*
   mâ-ni 'ala-d-dinja čeṭîr al-ḥasâjef
   wa' hâj . . .

1. While the idler shook up his bed,
   Hey! through how many dark nights have we ridden!
   Hey! glory be and by Allâh himself!
2. O thou who askest about us of what tribe we were,
   (Know that) we are descendants of the Rwala, counted among the best of tribes.
   Hey! glory!
3. Like thieves in a dark night, like attackers after the passing of the dew
   We are wont to plant ulcers in the enemy's stomach.
   Hey! glory!

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539* undisturbed for two whole months, as the enemy did not dare to make a new attack. It was during this time that this ditty was composed.

●[701 622] *Sulṭa* signifies a war leader who in times of the greatest danger also takes over the functions of the head chief. Saṭṭâm, who succeeded in terrifying the herdsmen allied with Muḥammad eben Smejr, is meant here by the word *sulṭa* and also by *d̲îb*, wolf.

Jâ-hl-as-sebâja ẓhûrehen
nâda-l-munâdi bel-felâḥ
lâḡ aṭ-ṭarîḥ benḥûrehen
šerbi naḳa' 'oḳb al-melâḥ.

O ye plunderers! mount on their backs,
The call has gone forth for success.
He who is thrown from the saddle will slide down their throats,
And this will be to me a sweet drink after salt water.

The enemy had long been harassing the herds but was never seen in time, so that help always came too late. At last the guard sighted him before he found the herds. As soon as it was reported in the camp, the rescuing troop hastened against him, fondly hoping to surround him and take all his horses and she-camels, in this manner tasting a sweet drink.

Jâ-lli tlowbed beš-še'ib
mâ 'endana illa sab'akom
narmi-l-'aša la-d̲îḥ al-aṭwaḳ
w-naṭraḥ ža'idet rab'akom.

O ye who creep through the valley!
We have nothing for you but terror.
We shall throw you for supper to a wolf with a neck streaked with gray
And shall cast down him who guards your clothes and camels.

The thieves leave their clothes and camels—if they have any—under the guard of one of their comrades called *ža'ide* and crawl on their bellies to the tents. *D̲îḥ aṭwaḳ* is an old dog or wolf whose neck is growing gray.